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Message Text

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44
ACTION OES-04

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 AF-04 ARA-06 EA-06 NEA-06

RSC-01 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

FEAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 /096 W
---------- 000135
R 270837Z NOV 74
FM USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5279
INFO AEC GERMANTON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PARM, TECH, IAEA, FR
SUBJECT: FRANCE AND NPT

1. ANTIASOV, ACTING USSR RES REP, HAS CALLED MISOFF'S ATTENTION TO GISCARD D'ESTAING PRESS CONFERENCE LATE OCTOBER, AS REPORTED OCTOBER 26 EDITION LE MONDE, IN WHICH INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS WERE MADE RE NPT. ANTIASOV ALSO FOUND COMMENTS BY MICHEL TATU THAT EDITION INTRIGUING.

2. MISSION HAS OBTAINED TRANSLATIONS PERTINENT PART GISCARD D'ESTAING COMMENTS, AS REPORTED LE MONDE OCT. 26, AND TATU COMMENTARY.

3. SPEAKING "ONLY IN MY OWN CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC" GISCARD D'ESTAING BELIEVED THAT FRENCH NUCLEAR DETRRENCE SHOULD BE EXERCISED ONLY AGAINST OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS OR AGAINST THREAT OF INVASION OF TERRITORY OF FRANCE. IT WAS HIS OPINION, HE SAID, THAT FRANCE MUST NOT
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USE OR EVEN THREATEN TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-

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NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES AND HE WISHED OTHER NUCLEAR-WEAPON
STATES WOULD COME TO ADOPT THE SAME POLICY. IF THAT
CONCEPT WERE ADOPTED MORE WIDELY, THE PROBLEMS OF NON-
PROLIFERATION WHICH WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF "NEW NEGOTIA-
TIONS" IN 1975 WOULD DOUBTLESS BE TREATED DIFFERENTLY.
FRANCE WAS JUSTIFIED IN NOT PARTICIPATING IN NPT BECAUSE
OF THE FRENCH ARGUMENT THAT A STATE (PRESUMABLY FRANCE)
UNWILLING TO SUBJECT ITSELF TO DOMINATION BY ONE OF THE
BLOCS, AND HAVING THE MEANS TO DEVELOP ITS OWN NUCLEAR
WEAPONS, MUST NOT ALLOW THE NWS'S TO PROHIBIT ITS
HAVING THE RESOURCES TO PRESERVE ITS INDEPENDENCE. THIS
IS NOW A FAIT ACCOMPLI (OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO FRANCE).
THE PROBLEM OF NONPROLIFERATION SHOULD BE TREATED IN A
MORE COMPLETE WAY BY EXAMINING THE MOTIVES GUIDING THE
NNWS'S IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BECOME NWS'S AND THEN TRY TO
ATTENUATE THESE MOTIVES "AND MAKE SURE THERE WILL BE NO
EMERGENCY". THE FRENCH POLICY OF NON-USE VIS-A-VIS NNWS'S,
WHICH WOULD BE EXPLAINED IN MORE DETAIL AT ANOTHER OPPOR-
TUNITY, COULD PRECISELY BE ONE OF THE APPROACHES MAKING IT
POSSIBLE TO AVOID PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

4. TATU'S COMMENTARY IS HEADLINED "IS FRANCE MOVING
TOWARD ACCESSION TO NPT?". HE POINTS OUT THAT THE NEED
TO DO SOMETHING TO STOP PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS HAS NOT SO FAR GIVEN FRANCE'S LEADERS SLEEPLESS
NIGHTS. GISCARD D'ESTAING IS AN EXCEPTION, INASMUCH AS
HE NOW SUGGESTS THAT THE OTHER NWS'S SHOULD DRAW INSPIRA-
TION FROM HIS "DOCTRINE" ON THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND
EVEN IMPLIES THAT IF NPT WERE AMENDED APPROPRIATELY FRANCE
MIGHT ACCEDE TO IT. TATU GOES ON TO NOTE THAT MANY
COUNTRIES HAVE ALLEGED LACK OF SUCH GUARANTEES AS REASON
FOR NOT ADHERING TO NPT. HE LISTS ARGENTINA, BRAZIL,
INDIA, "TO NAME A FEW" PLUS SWITZERLAND AND JAPAN AS
DELAYING RATIFICATION FOR SAME ALLEGED REASON. HE POINTS
OUT THAT THE GREAT POWERS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN RELUCTANT TO
GIVE SUCH GUARANTEE, THOUGH KOSYGIN AGREED IN PRINCIPLE ON
FEBRUARY 1, 1966. SIMILARLY, US, UK, FRANCE AND CHINA HAVE
GUARANTEED TO PARTIES OF TREATY OF TLATELOLCO NOT TO USE,
THREATEN TO USE OR INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THAT REGION.

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5. WHILE WE QUESTION PREMISE THAT NON-USE ISSUE IS
DETERMINING FACTOR IN EYES OF RELUCTANT NNWS'S, MISSION
WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN ANY EVALUATION OF THESE STATE-
MENTS BY EMBASSY PARIS WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN MADE, PARTICU-
LARLY RE SERIOUSNESS OF SOLE FRENCH PUBLIC (OR PRIVATE, TO
OUR KNOWLEDGE) HINT TO DATE THAT, WITH APPROPRIATE AMENDMENT,
FRANCE MIGHT JOIN NPT.PORTER

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